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he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skoplje. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the

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subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements remained binding.

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprisonment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case women and children died of starvation. There were several

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provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

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sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household